20c MAY 14, 1951

New Republic

MacArthur's Rebellion

The Background
by TRIS COFFIN

The Real Issue
by HAROLD ICKES

The Testimony Editorial

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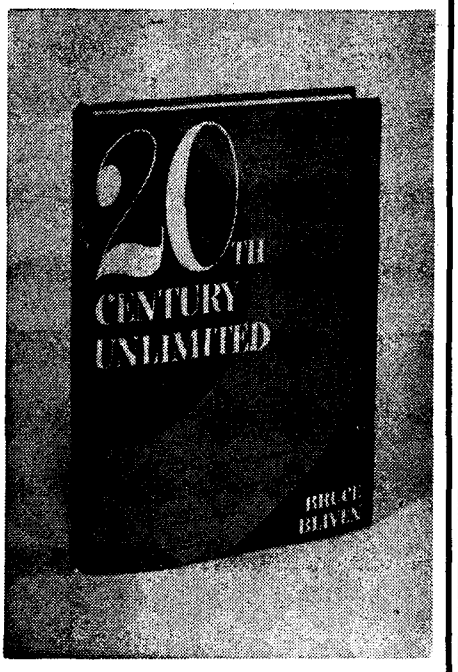
What does the future hold?

20TH CENTURY UNLIMITED

EDITED BY BRUCE BLIVEN



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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

EVERYBODY treated General MacArthur with kid gloves, and it was an impressive sight, seeing the "little Mikado" commute to and from New York in a four-motor Army plane with a major general acting as his press officer. His proposals were modest enough too; simply a course of action that would leave America without allies in a possible world war. The General was disarming; he insisted repeatedly that as an ex-theatre-of-war commander he could not possibly take responsibility for global strategy because he lacked the facts. That was the job of his superiors. But as to his right to criticize his superiors—or if not to criticize exactly, at least to enter sharp dissent in letters to an anti-administration politician in the midst of an angry national controversy—that, the General felt, he had a perfect right to do.

We find we have done MacArthur an injustice. Tokyo correspondents complained that he was cut off from realities by sycophants and yes-men. The very opposite is true. Asked by Sen. Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) if he would have permitted his own chief of staff to write a letter to Congress criticizing him, MacArthur replied, "Certainly . . . just so he did it in a courteous, polite way following the normal code of a gentleman's conduct." What a mild, benign, sweet old codger MacArthur is, to be sure.

This situation is developing too fast for final predictions. It is our private opinion (which we should hate to have bandied about) that Truman has the "little Mikado" over a barrel. Whether Truman has the skill to exploit this interesting situation remains to be seen. The crucial point will be how far the Joint Chiefs of Staff go in rebuttal. This turns pretty much on the famous four-point JCS memorandum of January 12, which MacArthur offers as conclusive evidence that they agreed with him.

In this document the JCS recommended intensification of the economic blockade (which has been done); resumption of air reconnaisance (which has been done); preparation for naval blockade in case we were thrown out of Korea (since we weren't thrown out the circumstances didn't arise); and finally, taking the wraps off Chiang's troops. Only on this fourth point were the JCS presumably overruled.

Actually, General Bradley is expected to take the stand and say that this discussion is silly without considering the context. Last December MacArthur reported that we might be thrown out of Korea. And what were his instructions in that case? The January 12 memorandum was the reply. Almost immediately the situation improved, and the matter was dropped. To offer this memorandum outside the context is to give only a deceptive approximation of the truth.

The great meat strike against the OPA came in 1946 when Price Administrator "Mike" DiSalle was running for Congress, and now another meat strike is threatened. In 1946, the NAM president, Robert Wason, urged Congress to put reliance for price control "on the American housewife, rather than the OPA," and dozens of other equally eminent experts assured the nation that prices wouldn't rise if only hateful controls were ended. Controls ended, and in the single month of August, 1946, the cost-of-living index bounded up 7.9 points for a record. It rose 19 points in five months. DiSalle, incidentally, lost the "meat" election in Ohio by 300 votes. He feels rather strongly about meat strikes.

Cattle prices are the highest in history, 152 percent above parity; even with the roll-back they will be ahead of many other food prices. The Administration is determined. As DiSalle was talking to some protesting Congressmen the other day his private buzzer rang; it was Truman. "I want you to stick to

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your guns," the President said. "You're in the right; these fellows are engaging in a little demagoguery. If we go down on this, we'll go down together." The call was unexpected and unsolicited. It left DiSalle in a fine prideful glow; pride for his job and his boss.

The tax concession known as "depletion allowance" is, perhaps, the most scandalous single grab by Big Business extant. In 1937, Morgenthau called it "the most glaring loophole." Truman last year said he knew of no loophole "so inequitable" in the tax laws. In the interest of fairness and the national emergency, he pleaded that the oil allowance be cut from 27.5 to 15 percent. Now the House Ways and Means Committee has spoken, tentatively but probably decisively. It vetoed the proposed reduction for oil; it voted to double the depletion allowance for coal; and it added eight new non-metallic minerals to the list. The coal and oil lobbies are among the most powerful in Congress.

Notes: A Senate group seeks to reverse the recent House action giving a monopoly on all future transmission of electric power to private companies; the House action was taken over the protest of the Defense Power Administration. . . . Excluded correspondents paid 12.5 cents a sheet for censored transcripts of MacArthur hearings; the unkindest cut was to get pages blank of all but one word—"Deleted" . . . Actually little was censored. . . . First underground test of the A-bomb will come soon in the Aleutians; nobody knows what it will do underground (crack the earth, maybe), and naturally we must find out. . . . To speed up grain for India, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) urges support for his national "Friendship Grain" campaign; the Indian Government will pay cost of interstate shipment, storage and transport of donated grain . . . Checks can also be sent, care of the Red Cross, this city, for "Friendship Grain." . . . Two vacancies occur soon on the five-man Federal Power Commission; few Truman replacements will be so vital, for the FPC decides the fairness of natural gas rates and there is bitter division in the commission.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Outsmarting America

SIR: Usually I enjoy Percy Winner's articles. But "The Vatican's Feud with America" (*NR*, March 26) is a disappointment unworthy of his political sagacity. Mr. Winner comes out for the appeasement of the Vatican. . . .

The tragedy of it is that the Vatican is outsmarting America because we lack the courage and the integrity to stand up for our ideals, which we usually sacrifice to expediency. We should have learned long ago that the interests of the Vatican and ours are opposite and that we shall lose if we continue the appeasement of any dictator, no matter if this dictator carries a cross instead of a sword.

Miami, Fla. J. W. MARTINEZ

Hunger in India

SIR: I have read with choking emotions Harold L. Ickes' article, "Hunger Cannot Be Adjourned," in the *New Republic* of April 30. I and my people in India are confident that the destiny of this world is quite safe as long as a few people of Ickes' "faith and belief" are ready to do what they can to ameliorate the condition of suffering humanity. I assure you that Mr. Ickes has touched the very heart of India by frankly expressing his view on the matter. He is completely correct in maintaining that "India is too proud to traffic in her honor." . . .

Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. S. P. CHAUBE

Frustrated Republicans

SIR: Your editorial "MacArthur's War Party" (*NR*, April 23) expresses, I believe, the sentiments of all non-partisan, sober-thinking, informed Americans. It fails, however, to stress the political angle of the MacArthur explosion which to all appearances is closely linked to Republican fortunes. The GOP-inspired MacArthur drama is in a sense the acting out of the intense feelings of frustration and desperation of a party losing on domestic issues with the strongest candidate against the opposition's weakest and resolved to come back on foreign issues even at the expense of damaged national interests. When the emotional smoke has been dissipated, the hitherto blurred division line between the two major parties should become sharper.

As one of the few high-caliber Republicans nurturing no political ambitions and capable of raising his sights above party levels, the late Senator Vandenberg saw the need of primacy of unity in foreign policy over partisan thinking. The so-called bipartisan foreign policy rested chiefly, if shakily, on his prestige, stature and statecraft. . . .

Philadelphia MAX BISER

Reciprocity

SIR: No one familiar with the fascist sympathies of the American Legion could be very surprised to hear of their presentation of a medal to Franco for his long fight against Communism (*NR*, April 23). Too bad Hitler isn't available to be decorated! I would suggest that in all fairness Franco should reciprocate by presenting the American Legion with a medal for its long fight against democracy.

Princeton, N. J. CLAIRE SMITH

Not for Oxford

SIR: Your footnote to Mr. R. H. S. Crossman's article, "Reflections on the Cold War," in your April 9 issue, states that Mr. Crossman is Labour MP for Oxford. Actually he is Labour MP for Coventry East, and has never represented Oxford, though he was a Fellow of New College for some time. . . .

New York City RICHARD BRETT-SMITH

A Winner Admirer

SIR: For some time past, I have intended to express my appreciation of the scholarly and perceptive articles contributed to the *New Republic* by Percy Winner, writing "Outside America."

They . . . give me facts, otherwise unobtainable in the press of the US, concerning conditions and opinions held in Europe, and by so doing, preserve me from false, and therefore dangerous optimism. . . .

New York City MARGARET F. SLOSS

What Is Congress For?

SIR: Is Congress a legislative body or a policy agency? I admit that some good work has been done now and then by the many "investigation" committees of that body, notably Senator Kefauver's committee on criminal activities in the country. But after all, we elect men and women to Congress to frame and enact legislation, not to prosecute criminals. If the FBI is too poorly manned or lacks facilities of any kind, let us set them to work with adequate equipment, not turn over to Congress the work which they should do, particularly when it is so often made the instrument of slander, "smearing" and the destruction of worthy reputations.

Los Angeles FRANK C. REID

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VOLUME 124, NUMBER 20, ISSUE 1902, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 14, 1951 **New Republic**

WAR TO THE DEATH

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S Senate testimony reveals him as brilliant, unprincipled, arrogant and reckless. By his own admission, on the basis of limited knowledge and responsibility, and at a time of perilous unpreparedness, he is anxious to force the issue on a third world war.

The Army of the United States today is concentrated in Korea. It is a priceless national resource, protecting the safety of all free nations. Its loss would open the way to aggression the world over.

MacArthur gambled once with that army in North Korea and almost lost it. Now he proposes to gamble with it again, risking its total loss should we engage China and Russia in an all-out war. MacArthur admitted under questioning by Sen. Brien McMahon (D, Conn.), that he knows little about Soviet rearmament; that he is ignorant of Russia's capacity to devastate America with atomic bombs; that he has not tried to assess the present dangers in Europe and the Middle East. Yet he intends to impose his will regardless of the views of our allies, or the consequences of his action elsewhere. When McMahon challenged his right to gamble, MacArthur replied simply: "Everything that is involved in international relationship amounts to a gamble." In this blithe spirit, we are to plunge into world war. "How would you defend the American nation in that war?" asked McMahon. "That doesn't happen to be my responsibility," MacArthur replied.

MacArthur refuses to recognize that the US cannot set limits to a major war which it initiates. He wants to gamble countless lives on his hunch that China and Russia are divided, and that neither will fight back.

"All I contemplate," MacArthur said, "is to disrupt the capacity [of China] to supply the sinews of war to their armies in Korea." When Sen. J. William Fulbright (D, Ark.) pointed out that the Chinese armies in Korea were in fact supplied by Russia, MacArthur answered, "They have the power to make what equipment they are using." That is not true.

China, MacArthur adds, is "peculiarly vulnerable to the process of blockade, and the process of internal disruption by bombing. The slightest dislocation in their normal processes of distribution causes the greatest convulsions in . . . Chinese society. . . . If you disturb in the slightest degree the distributive systems you might well have 50 million men starving at one time." . . .

That also indicates a complete misreading of Chinese history. First, China is not vulnerable to blockade. Second, starvation and suffering do not weaken China's capacity to fight. On the contrary the government and the armies survive starvation and the regime is often strengthened. Today there is starvation in China and yet the government is shipping a million tons of grain to India from Dairen. MacArthur's notion that the regime will topple over at the first push is dangerous nonsense.

The Communist regime may be unpopular today. It is still stronger than any previous regime. Bombing by American planes and useless raids by the Nationalists with American support would simply line up the Chinese nation behind its Communist oppressors.

MacArthur guesses that Stalin will stand idly by while we destroy his greatest ally. That is absurd. The Sino-Soviet treaty would be invoked in war. Russia cannot tear it up. The close ties between Manchuria and Soviet Asia alone would force Russia to strike back. An almost defenseless Japan lies within her grasp. *War against China means world war.*

The war has begun, MacArthur states; there are only two choices—war with China or endless slaughter in Korea. If that were true, MacArthur would be on strong ground. But the truth is that there is a third choice—a negotiated settlement after the present Communist offensive fails. Negotiation need not mean appeasement, but it does require concessions by both sides.

MacArthur rules out all compromise. He insists that Communism and not aggression is the enemy, and that the purpose of war is victory. Together these concepts rule out all negotiation as appeasement and proclaim that the only acceptable settlement is one in which our will is imposed in its entirety on the enemy. That means unconditional surrender, and since the Russian and Chinese Communists will not surrender unconditionally the inevitable end of MacArthur's policy is war to the death. Americans will not choose war and so MacArthur will fail. The danger is that in failing he may have strength enough to block a negotiated peace. Then we may have world war, not by choice but by drift.

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THE COURT TURNS ITS BACK

IF PRESIDENT TRUMAN is sick at heart over recent Supreme Court decisions that strike against vital concepts of American civil liberties, he has only himself to blame. The President appointed Fred Vinson, his friend and confidant, a Southerner with Presidential aspirations, Chief Justice. He appointed Tom Clark, his friend and a Southerner, with full knowledge that as former Attorney General, Clark would not be able to participate in many of the most important civil-liberties cases. He appointed Judge Sherman Minton, an old friend from his Senate days, whose reputation as an independent "liberal" has yet to be proved by his opinions, as an Associate Justice. These men, along with Justices Reed and Burton, are responsible for gravely weakening the Court as a protector of civil liberty.

The Court, by a vote of four to four (Clark not participating), has affirmed the dismissal of Dorothy Bailey, the first government employee to be fired under the loyalty program. At the same time, the Supreme Court ruled, five to three (Justices Reed, Vinson and Minton in the minority), that the lower courts must grant trials to three organizations listed by the Attorney General as "subversive." The two cases are closely linked since the list of 159 "subversive" organizations is now being used as the basis for dismissal of government workers.

The Court's decision on these two cases has left chaotic confusion. In the Bailey case, the Court has ruled that a citizen can be found disloyal without trial by jury, without evidence and without even being allowed to confront his accusers or to know their identity. In the case involving the three organizations—the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the International Workers Order—the Court, in effect, ruled that the Attorney General may not list an organization as subversive without first giving the group a hearing at which it will have the opportunity to prove such a listing false. In other words, the Court has granted the right of judicial review and relief to organizations and refused it to individuals. Justice Jackson aptly characterized this as ". . . justice turned bottomside up."

In the Bailey case a tied vote freed the Justices from the duty of a written decision. In the cases of the three organizations the majority decisions were rendered in the narrowest terms possible. "Justice Burton and those for whom he speaks," as Justice Jackson noted, "would rescue the loyalty order from inquiry as to its validity by spelling out an admission by the Attorney General that it has been arbitrarily misapplied. . . . Mr. Justice Reed contends in substance that the designation [of 'subversive' organizations] is a mere press release without legal consequences."

Justice Jackson argues that "the Loyalty Order does affect substantive legal rights." He and Justice Frankfurter agree that "to promulgate with force of law a conclusive finding of disloyalty, without hearing at some stage before such finding becomes final, is a denial of due process of law." The inference is clear that in the Bailey case at least the government acted unconstitutionally. Jackson, after stressing the rights of individuals, adds that organizations cannot legally object to being labeled "subversive" in ex parte proceedings. And Frankfurter restricts his correct opinion to narrow grounds.

Justice Douglas alone, outraged by the Court's action, goes out of his way to recognize the urgent responsibility of the Court and to challenge the underlying concept of the Loyalty Order. He declares:

"I do not see how the constitutionality of this dragnet system of loyalty trials which has been entrusted to the administrative agencies of government can be sustained."

We believe that in the substance of his argument Justice Douglas is entirely right. Surely he is right in insisting that the central issue of the constitutionality of the Loyalty Program is one which the Court must face. Justice Frankfurter in arguing for a higher regard for due process in loyalty procedures presents nonetheless a rationalization for delay: "The more issues of law are inescapably entangled in political controversies, especially those that touch the passions of the day, the more the Court is under duty to dispose of a controversy within the narrowest confines that intellectual integrity permits."

This view is consistent with Justice Frankfurter's long-held view that the Court must not be the instrument of reform. Yet what if "the passions of the day" and the political force of government intrude on fundamental rights? Under our system of checks and balances the duty of the Court is to intervene.

The Bailey case was a test case. The chance may not recur. A new Executive order has been enforced, which permits agencies to fire employees when there is even a "reasonable doubt" of loyalty, making it unlikely that government workers accused of charges as nebulous as those brought against Miss Bailey will have their day in court. The Supreme Court is guilty of neglect of duty in failing to check a trend that is worsening day by day.

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THE WEEK

LABOR RE-MOBILIZES

Cautiously observing that "a significant change of attitude has taken place in Washington," the United Labor Policy Committee voted last week to return organized labor's representatives to the mobilization agencies. The unions expressed the opinion that "the cards are still stacked against the consuming public" but felt that the two-month walkout had achieved significant results.

Unquestionably the most important result was the creation of President Truman's 17-member National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy. To date the board has made only one recommendation to the President, and that was favorable to the unions, calling for an enlarged Wage Stabilization Board to handle both wage and non-wage cases. More important than this decision, however, is the fact that labor's representatives, and others in the various agencies now have a top appeal board.

This means a decided curb on the unlimited powers of Mobilization Director Wilson. The unions now have a direct line to the President.

Several days after labor returned to the mobilization fold the White House appointed the 18-member Wage Stabilization Board, headed by George Taylor of the University of Pennsylvania. Taylor replaces Cyrus Ching who returns to his old post as director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. The first order of business for the new board is expected to be a revision of the wage ceiling presently set at 10 percent above the January 15, 1950, level. There are more than 800 individual wage cases awaiting action.

In rejoining the mobilization effort, the unions state: "We do not want to give the impression that the United Labor Policy Committee is now satisfied with all defense policies or programs. On the contrary, further fundamental improvements are imperative. The cards are still stacked against the consuming public. The remedy for these wrongs lies in more vigorous price regulations and even more with Congress. Labor and every other group in the nation must now undertake a new campaign for constructive action by Congress."

KICKBACK ON SPECTACLES

While Britishers will soon begin to pay for the eye-glasses they have been receiving gratis under their health plan, there is a possibility that the cost of this essential commodity may go down for US users. This may be the result of a fourth US Court of Appeals opinion by Judge Armistead M. Dobie, which declared the usual practice of opticians' kickbacks to doctors to be illegal for income-tax purposes. The optician had tried to deduct kickbacks as a legitimate business expense.

"We certainly will not lend the force of any opinion of this court to sanction, as an 'ordinary and necessary' expense of the opticians' business, the making and carrying out of such unconscionable and reprehensible contracts for secret kickbacks to the doctor," said Dobie. Experts believe that if the ruling has the effect of killing this practice, the price of eye-glasses may decrease by a possible 25 to 40 percent. But public awareness of the situation is low. Only California and Washington have acted to ban the practice. No major newspaper, and only the labor paper *The Machinist*, carried the story of Dobie's decision.

EQUAL EDUCATION

NASHVILLE, TENN. (NR corresp.)

Racial segregation in the South has been dealt another blow by a federal court order to the University of Tennessee to admit Negroes to its graduate and law schools.

Though an advisory opinion of the state attorney general last fall held that the university's case would not stand up in court, the university authorities persisted in denying admission to Negro applicants. The bar against interracial education in the Tennessee constitution was cited by the educators as the basis of their action. Four Negroes—J. H. Patterson, Lincoln Blakeney, Gener Mitchell Gray and Jack Alexander—brought suit in Judge Robert L. Taylor's court under the plea that their rights under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment had been denied.

Judge Taylor overruled the argument of the university's counsel that the Fourteenth Amendment cannot take precedence over the police powers of the state to operate schools upon "established usages, customs and traditions." He did not rule directly upon the validity of the provision in the state constitution. However, legal opinion in the state held that the case indirectly disposed of the provision and opened all state professional schools to Negroes.

Ten years ago six Negroes made an unsuccessful fight for admission to the University of Tennessee graduate and professional schools. Following that suit, the state legislature embarked on a program to expand the Negro Tennessee A&I College on the assumption that "equal facilities" would preserve racial segregation.

REBUTTAL TO MacARTHUR

The rebuttal to General MacArthur should expose at least four major untruths in his sworn testimony. Most fantastic was his assertion that he gave full freedom of political expression to his subordinates. The truth is of course that MacArthur suppressed all criticism in his command, and went further to suppress freedom of the press than any American commander. He exiled or tried to exile correspondents of *Newsweek*, the New York *Herald Tribune*, the *Daily Herald* and the London *Times* for daring to criticize him in peacetime. In war, he attempted to impose a total blackout on critical reporting in Korea.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

GOOD NEWS FROM ITALY

The most encouraging development in Italian domestic politics in the three years since the Communists were defeated in the national election of April 18, 1948, took place at five o'clock the morning of April 3, 1951. After four days of debate, the representatives of the two largest non-Communist Socialist groups—the Socialist Workers Party led by Giuseppe Saragat and the Socialist Unity Party led by Giuseppe Romita—decided by a small majority to merge and to create the PSULI—the United Italian Socialist Workers Party. (See "Misreading Italy," *NR*, March 12.)

The new party has 34 deputies in the chamber—20 for Saragat and 14 for Romita—as compared with the 51 of the pro-Communist Socialist Party led by Pietro Nenni. Its formation was made possible by sacrifices on the part of the Saragat Right and the Romita Left. The three ministers of the Saragat group who have been in the Christian Democratic Government of Alcide de Gasperi—Lombardo, Simonini and d'Aragona—reluctantly resigned; and the Romitian Left with no less reluctance agreed to support de Gasperi on the issues of Atlanticism and defense rearmament.

Just how encouraging the development really is will not become clear until its effects—both political and psychological—are given their first large-scale practical test in the provincial and municipal administrative elections of May 27 and June 10. The comment of the veteran French Socialist leader Boutbien, who was present when the merger was voted, recalled Massimo d'Azeglio's famous comment on the unification of the Italian nation nearly a century ago: "Italy is made, now the Italians must be made." Boutbien said: "Socialist unity is good; the unity of the workers in support of Socialism is better."

There is practically no chance that the PSULI will prove stronger at the forthcoming elections than de Gasperi's Christian Democrats or the Communist-Nenni Socialist coalition. But de Gasperi, who has survived six defeats of his own government in as many years, may at last be brought face to face with a democratic Socialist opposition to counter-balance the neo-Fascist-Monarchist coalition and to force him toward more progressive domestic policies.

In a sense the merger was a shotgun marriage. The Comisco—the international organization of Socialist parties—demanded it; and the demand became imperative after Ignazio Silone took advantage of the Cucchi-Magnani bolt from Palmiro Togliatti's official Communist Party to try to build still another Socialist "fraction." The problem of choosing for international Socialist recognition between two contenders—Saragat and Romita—was bad enough; a compromise was the recognition of both. But acceptance of three was entirely out of the question.

Besides, the domestic Italian political situation called for unity and, for the first time in three years, perhaps, offered the practical possibility. De Gasperi's grip on his own party was weakening. The time seemed ripe to forge a new weapon, on the Left, to contest the Communist hold on administrative power in many parts of the country. The mayors and members of the municipal administrations of such important cities as Turin, Genoa, Bologna, Venice and Florence are Communists.

The PSULI has a very long way to go to match the organization either of the Christian Democratic or the Communist Party. At the seventh annual congress of the CP, Togliatti boasted that he controlled 96 federations, 10,000 sections and 53,000 cells. He did not mention membership figures, which undoubtedly have fallen. But no close student of Italian political affairs (except perhaps in the State Department) believes that Communism is really on the run in Italy.

It is a favorable sign for the PSULI's future that, even before its creation was formally decided, both Togliatti's and Nenni's forces were trying to woo it. On the national scale, a combination of the PSULI with either of these groups is most unlikely. This however is not the case in particular regions. At Faenza, for example, a tentative agreement has been made for affiliation on the electoral lists among the regional heads of the CP, PSI, PSU and PSLI. In other regions, there will be other combinations; the new Democratic Socialist Party will make all sorts of obscure alliances, with the Christian Democrats, even with the Monarchists and neo-Fascists. For Italy is still in the tradition of the Fascist *conquista dello stato*—the conquest of the state—and the road to the goal formulated by Boutbien, "the unity of the workers in support of Socialism," still lies along some twisted (if not crooked) Machiavellian paths.

A shadow which falls over the existence of the new Democratic Socialist Party is the fact that, whatever the idealism of much of its membership, whatever the possibilities of its future action either for democracy or for Socialism, it is the result of a deal—of an "arrangement" between two men as *personalista* as any Latin American politician. Saragat has shown himself to be ambitious and opportunistic. Romita, as Minister of the Interior, created the *reparto celere*—the fast squad of the police, which Mario Scelba has used so undemocratically, even anti-democratically.

It is the membership, not the leadership, of the new party that will make or break it. And if American public opinion wants to help true democracy or democratic Socialism in Italy, it will egg American policy toward support, not of the leaders but of the membership. In this membership, in its connections on the broadest popular basis with the labor unions, there are precisely the encouraging possibilities which the Cucchi - Magnani - Silone combination lacks. There is the chance for a healthy and powerful opposition, both to the Communists and to the Christian Democrats, on the basis of a workable link between social and economic justice within Italy and the defense of freedom in the world.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE GANGS GO LEGITIMATE

by Edwin A. Lahey

THE THIRD and major report of the Senate Crime Investigating Committee came and went the other day like a Lake Erie storm. Most of the report was a laborious exposition of the obvious. The New York section of it was an attempt to write a Dostoevski ending to the Horatio Alger career of Ambassador William O'Dwyer, whose usefulness in Mexico City was not enhanced by the committee's charges that gangsters found a salubrious atmosphere in New York City during O'Dwyer's administration as mayor.

The report was widely forgotten overnight, by which time the newspapers with their accounts of it were wrapping lunches. But there was one section discussing the place of hoodlums in business which makes this a document of historic importance. The committee has for the first time assembled all the known facts about this subject into one highly illuminating chapter.

There are two separate stories in this final evolutionary phase of the racketeer, in which we find the graduates of the brothels, the bootleg rings, the gambling casinos and the hoodlum unions at long last at the top of the economic pyramid, among the employer class.

The first and most impressive story deals with the reciprocal trade between management and the underworld, wherein gangsters are granted lucrative factory concessions, in return for which they fracture the skulls of selected citizens during a labor dispute.

The other is the success story of the gangsters and ex-gangsters, who made their way in the rackets by their own abilities as leaders, and now invest in legitimate enterprises, to which they bring those same traits of leadership. If these include a willingness at times to commit mayhem or murder to suppress competition, who shall cast the first stone?

It is difficult to be very pious about some of the former racket boys who are now in legitimate trade. Some of them are on the level, and for their families' sake, at least, would like to forget their past connections with the underworld. Abner "Longie" Zwillman, of Newark, for example, made a very persuasive case for himself when he testified before the committee. Should those of us who purchased his prohibition booze assume to be uppity with "Longie" when we pay deference to the third or fourth generation of families whose fortunes may have been founded by some pompous thief who skinned the government for huge profits on war contracts?

But let's get back to the first part of this story, the working arrangement between certain types of industrial management and the underworld. We quote from page 171 of the Kefauver committee report, at the beginning of the discussion on the infiltration of hoodlums into legitimate business.

One of the most shocking problems in this connection, and one which constitutes a black page in the history of American industry, is the indisputable evidence obtained by the committee of co-operation with major hoodlums on the part of important segments of business enterprise.

In Detroit, the committee found leading industrial concerns admittedly co-operating with notorious hoodlums for the purpose of suppressing labor difficulties. [Briggs Manufacturing Company and the Detroit-Michigan Stove Company are mentioned specifically in the Detroit section of the report.]

In New York, the same situation prevailed in connection with the Phelps-Dodge [Copper] Company, which invited in hoodlums from the gang of Albert and Anthony Anastasia to help break a strike.

Where business uses racketeers, there is a tendency for labor unions to use tactics of violence and vice versa.

In the Detroit-Michigan Stove case, the committee reported that John A. Fry, the president of this company, entered into a relationship with one Santo Perrone, an Italian gangster, "the obvious effect of which was to enlist the assistance of Perrone's gangster friends in Fry's labor disputes."

A strike was broken at the stove plant several years ago, and shortly thereafter, Perrone, who had been a laborer in the plant, was given a scrap haul-away concession at the plant that has netted him an income ranging from $40,000 to $65,000 per year. Perrone and his brother, Gaspar, went to the federal penitentiary for a time on a liquor rap. While they were on ice the United Automobile Workers organized the stove works.

"After the Perrones were released from prison, the organization disintegrated," the Kefauver committee report says with commendable restraint.

Carl Renda, a personable young man with no police record, but with the good fortune to be Santo Perrone's son-in-law, was given a scrap contract at the Briggs body plant in Detroit in 1946. William Dean Robinson, the president of Briggs, is a close friend of Fry, the

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president of the Detroit-Michigan Stove Company.

"The inference is permissible," the report states, "that the officials of the Briggs Manufacturing Company deliberately intended to follow the pattern of the Detroit-Michigan Stove works in connection with labor relations."

Renda, with no experience and no equipment for handling the scrap at the auto plant, simply farmed the job out to the contractors who had been doing the business for years and creamed a profit of about $100,000 per year from this deal.

Briggs granted this contract to Renda one week before a series of brutal beatings of UAW officials of the Briggs local began.

"While it was not proved by judicially admissible evidence," the Kefauver committee report says with wry repetition, "the inference is inescapable that what Renda was being paid for was the service of his father-in-law, the muscle man, Sam Perrone."

The committee reported that it had evidence that hoodlums had infiltrated (i.e. invested) in approximately 50 areas of business enterprise, including steel, garments, theatres, transportation, oil, the service industries, construction, banking, advertising, real estate and, of course, the liquor industry.

The report said that "practically every large distillery and brewery has granted franchises to racketeer dealers," most of them former bootleggers who were "blanketed in" under the original licensing activities of the Alcohol Tax Unit of the Treasury Department immediately after the repeal of prohibition.

Since most middle-aged racketeers used to be bootleggers, it is quite natural that they should remain in the liquor business in its legal reincarnation. "Unfortunately, however," says the committee, "many racketeers found it hard to drop the methods of operation which characterized their rum-running days, and consequently the committee was not surprised to find hoodlums involved in huge black market deals during World War II and in present-day bootlegging operations into dry areas."

The bootlegging operations referred to centered largely in Cairo, Illinois, where shipments of liquor were prepared for delivery by truck to Oklahoma and the dry or "local option" states of the Southeast. It is impossible to believe, from the evidence, that the big whiskey distillers who supplied the wholesale houses involved in this racket did not fully know that they were furnishing goods for an illegal project.

With the same arrogant blindness that helped bring about prohibition in the first place, the distillers and brewers have refused to accept the responsibility for weeding out the gangsters that still infest the industry, generally taking the position that governmental agencies should do the weeding out. The inadequacy of this remedy was sharply revealed in the committee's report which concluded that the industry should share responsibility with the government in getting and keeping the hoodlum element out of the liquor business.

The committee said that "Longie" Zwillman of Newark is a heavy investor in the steel industry and revealed for the first time that Zwillman was "one of the largest stockholders in the A. M. Byers Company of Pittsburgh." The former bootlegger recently furnished the chief support behind management in a proxy fight in this corporation, the committee reported.

The report also recalled the case of the Detroit Steel Corporation, whose officers accepted the financial help of members of the Cleveland gambling syndicate in swinging a merger deal with a small Cleveland company. It also reported that a Philadelphia numbers racketeer named Louis Crusco bought his way into the Strunk Steel Company, a fabricating firm in that city, "by virtue of his close association with the son of Philadelphia's mayor."

The story of hoodlum franchises in the automobile and trucking business is told once again in the committee report. The committee recalled that Anthony D'Anna, a former bootlegger who is now a bank director in Wyandotte, Michigan, received a Ford haul-away contract and an agency franchise during the regime of Harry Bennett. Also that Joe Adonis, the New Jersey racketeer, owns stock in the Automotive Conveying Company, which hauls automobiles away from the Ford plant at Edgewater, New Jersey. The report added that "Ford has publicly deplored this situation and is taking action to rid itself of Adonis."

It is interesting to note, as the committee does in its report, that the hoodlums very largely abandoned their "proletarian" phase when they moved up into legitimate business. At one stage of their development, the gangsters found trade unions a rich source of power and money. They controlled the stage hands, the hotel and restaurant workers, the building service employees, the retail clerks and segments of the cleaning and dyeing locals. The committee now says that hoodlum penetration of labor unions has decreased steadily over the years and that "the hoodlum element has been driven to the wall in all but a few important instances." The committee gives only one such instance: "One union which is still infested with hoodlums is the International Longshoremen's Union on the East Coast. Here, after 20 years of repeated efforts to correct conditions, there still persists one of the ugliest situations in labor-union history."

Joe Ryan, take it away.

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THE MacARTHUR REBELLION

by Tris Coffin

THE REBELLION of Douglas MacArthur is now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. If Sen. Richard B. Russell (D, Ga.) is successful it will pass from the glamor of MacArthur's personality and the banality of his generalizations to the merits of his views on the Korean War.

The true story may never be fully revealed. Yet even if its outlines become clear it will show, first, that MacArthur risked the lives of countless Americans without clear objectives; second, that the issue was very far from a conflict of "MacArthur or Acheson" as it was posed by MacArthur's supporter Senator Taft; and third, that this nation has reason to be eternally grateful to a modest and patient man, Omar Bradley.

Those who have followed it closely within the Pentagon and White House sum up the story in this way: MacArthur, with characteristic contempt for judgments other than his own, was prevented from extending the war to a world war by General Bradley, in his capacity as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In this conflict, MacArthur appears not as a soldier but as a man driven by a sense of his own destiny. He insisted that he alone was right, that the United States should strike now against Communist China by air and naval power and with US-supported Nationalist troops. He was careless of the implications of the action he proposed. All through the weeks of wrangling between Washington and Tokyo, Bradley opposed quietly and patiently any move to spread the war to the Chinese mainland. His protest was a simple, "We can't afford it."

Bradley is no appeaser. His concern in strategy is worldwide. His concept of worldwide defense against Communist aggression is massed firepower of the democracies against the limitless manpower of the Cominform, in battles fought if must be on fields of our choosing. He has a mathematical illustration—the Cominform can put 40 million soldiers in the field, the democracies, 7 million to 10 million. The most the allies could throw into the Pacific and Far East theatre within an effective time is one million men.

At the Blair House meetings when invasion struck in Korea, and at other sessions in the White House, General Bradley maintained caution against the damn-the-consequences temper of President Truman and the pressure of Secretary of State Dean Acheson to be more aggressive. General Bradley was not enthusiastic about going into Korea in the first place. "Can we afford it?" he asked. He has complained gently, as is his manner, that Secretary Acheson over-committed the United States militarily before we were ready. But he has always accepted the rulings.

If the Foreign Relations Committee retraces all the steps taken since last June it will uncover these facts:

In September, the US Embassy in New Delhi reported to Washington that the Indian Ambassador to Peking, Sardar Panikkar, had advised that China would enter the Korean War if the United Nations crossed the 38th Parallel. This confirmed previous intelligence reports that China was committed by a secret treaty with Russia to protect the hydroelectric power system based on the giant Suiho dam in North Korea. This power was sent as far north as Port Arthur and supplied the strategic, Soviet-run munitions industry in Manchuria. One product was the latest model heavy Russian tank. In addition the Intelligence Service of Nationalist China had warned that two Chinese divisions, the 164th and 166th, were in Korea and that the 4th Field Army under General Lin Piao was moving up the coast all the way to the Korean-Manchurian border.

The Panikkar report was sent to General MacArthur for comment. His reply was characteristic. The General has a habit of scorning proposals or reports that do not originate within his worshipful circle. (He prevented the Central Intelligence Agency from operating independently in Korea, even though Director Bedell Smith offered to let MacArthur name the chief operative.) MacArthur said the Panikkar report was pure propaganda—that the ambassador was a stooge of the Peking regime trying to cheat the US out of an imminent victory. He cabled that Chinese troops would not enter the war. He called for authority to cross the 38th Parallel and put an early end to the war.

By the time President Truman and General MacArthur met at Wake Island on October 15, the strategy of a "chastity belt" north of the 38th Parallel was worked out by the Joint Chiefs and accepted by our UN allies. There was "an understanding" between the President and MacArthur that South Korean soldiers might advance north of the belt, but not Americans. The General did not question this ruling at Wake. He found it necessary. At Wake, MacArthur declared that the war was over. The North Koreans were finished. The Chinese would certainly not intervene. If they should

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move, only 60,000 Chinese troops would be able to cross the Yalu River. These would be quickly slaughtered. The 8th Army, said MacArthur, should be home by Christmas; the 2nd Division should be in Europe by January. Later MacArthur switched, insisting on sending US troops to the Manchurian border. Bradley reluctantly gave in.

On October 25, General MacArthur sent light American columns north to the Manchurian border. These units were the First Cavalry and 24th Infantry. Within two days Chinese Communists struck from Manchuria. A tactic used over and over again by Communists in their defeats of Nationalists on the mainland was employed. Waves of massed troops, armed with little more than hand grenades and machine guns, bore down on the surprised Americans. Guerrillas sprang up from the rear and destroyed the communication lines along the West Coast. Communists jumped weary GIs, bedded down for the night, with screaming attacks at two and three o'clock in the morning.

At that critical moment, UN troops at MacArthur's insistence were dispersed and out of contact with each other. The 10th Corps barely escaped annihilation. The evacuation of all Korea would have followed. Good luck, and the desperate bravery of retreating troops alone saved MacArthur from responsibility for the second worst disaster in US military history.

At a confidential briefing for the Senate Armed Services Committee some days later, Lt. Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, then the Pentagon's top strategist, pieced together a tragic lack of alertness by the MacArthur command. There were 260,000 Chinese Communist troops on the Korean border. The movement and organization of these troops was long and carefully prepared. The MacArthur command was woefully unprepared. The General's failure properly to evaluate Chinese intervention at this time was the major blunder of the war. Sen. Millard Tydings privately told colleagues, "MacArthur has gone beyond the directives of the United Nations." The reaction of our allies to the Chinese intervention was like a mother who sees a casual boating party turned into tragedy as a sudden wave washes her children overboard. General MacArthur was bitterly condemned as the situation worsened. Defense positions which MacArthur had cabled would hold were overrun. Secretary Marshall privately told Senators, "The situation is so grave that the only course we can pursue is to be ready for the worst." General Collins, Army Chief of Staff, flew to Tokyo for a first-hand estimate. British Prime Minister Clement Attlee came to Washington and presented three urgent proposals. They were:

1. Withdraw all UN forces from Korea. President Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson firmly opposed this. General Bradley waited for the report from General Collins before he made up his mind. General Collins cabled that a small beachhead could be held indefinitely, and General Bradley switched over.

2. Turn over Formosa to the Chinese Communists and withdraw the American naval blockade. The President ruled this out with no ifs, ands or buts.

3. Begin immediate peace negotiations with Red China and Russia. Mr. Attlee was concerned by reports of Cominform offensives in Europe last winter. Secretary Acheson replied that this was no time to bargain with China. General Bradley said calmly that the allies would hold and the position would improve.

General MacArthur sent a proposal to the conference for an air blockade and for bombings of Chinese coastal communications. This was suggested by Secretary Acheson. Again General Bradley decided the issue by pointing out that Chinese bombings of Japan and Okinawa in retaliation could do much more damage than our strikes at China. In the end, Truman and Attlee agreed to hold a defense line and increase defense production and armed forces under a joint program. The Joint Chiefs of Staff drew up the defense strategy. The UN forces would pull back to a narrow waist of the peninsula below the 38th Parallel. This line would be defended by massed artillery, naval guns and carrier-based planes dropping the new and effective anti-personnel bombs. General MacArthur was not enthusiastic. He agitated for four National Guard divisions. The Joint Chiefs said no, because of US commitments around the world and the shortage of troops. MacArthur came back with a demand for Chinese Nationalist divisions. This was turned down on pressure from the British, who feared a spread of the war, and because of a well-founded belief in the Pentagon that the Nationalists would not fight.

General MacArthur then sent what amounted to an ultimatum to Washington. An additional 1.3 million enemy troops had been sighted, he reported, and unless the four divisions or Nationalist troops were sent him, he would be forced to pull out of Korea. He submitted a plan for a series of withdrawals moving from scorched earth to total evacuation. MacArthur's claim of 1.3 million troops was disputed in the Pentagon. The CIA estimated the new strength to be closer to 250,000 to 500,000. Adm. Forrest P. Sherman, chief of naval operations, commented: "If there are that many Chinese, their supply lines must run all the way to Shanghai."

The usually mild-mannered Air Secretary, Thomas K. Finletter, said, in effect, that MacArthur's demand was

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blackmail, that the General should be ordered to stay and fight with what he had. "If we approve this evacuation," Secretary Finletter argued, "General MacArthur can always say that he could have stayed if we had given him the four Guard divisions or the Nationalists. The judgment and prestige of the Joint Chiefs and the National Security Council is at stake. If we submit to MacArthur's plan, we have no defense or justification for Korea." Secretary Marshall and General Bradley agreed in principle with Finletter but said that MacArthur was the commander in the field and should be supported. A compromise finally was reached. United Nations forces could withdraw until they reached an area where the allies might hold.

During this grim period early in December, President Truman called in a bipartisan group of Congressional leaders to discuss the crisis and, without appearing to do so, answer MacArthur's cries for Nationalist troops and air bombardment of Manchuria. The President said soberly, in effect, "We have learned that strong Soviet Far Eastern air command units have moved from Siberia to bases in Manchuria. The Joint Chiefs fear a wholesale attack on our air and fleet units concentrated for the Korean evacuation. Any move to bring the Nationalists into the war would undoubtedly result in a devastating attack by Russian air might." He also remarked that heavy Russian submarine concentrations were reported based on the southern tip of Sakhalin Island, just across the Soya Strait from Japan.

This was not said merely to impress the Congressmen. It was a real and terrible fear in the Pentagon and at the White House. Mr. Truman confessed later to a Senate friend he slept very little and was obsessed by the fear that Russia might destroy half the American Navy and a great part of our Army in one air and submarine assault. After battle-trained American and allied troops, plus the hard-headed strategy of General Ridgway, turned the tables again in Korea, General MacArthur intensified his political campaign. A sample of his method is the job he did on two Congressmen, Reps. O. K. Armstrong (R, Mo.) and Bryan Dorn (D, S.C.) a few days before his release. He told the awed Representatives that war between the US and Russia's Far Eastern satellites was inevitable and that it was imperative for us to move now before China grows stronger. He said grandly and in a manner that brooked no argument that Russia would not enter the Asiatic war, even if China were attacked. Then he turned the Congressmen over to his intelligence officers for details. They were told there were *no* Soviet troops in Manchuria.

This information was in direct contradiction to intelligence in Washington which indicated that while Russia probably would do nothing in South China, she would welcome the excuse to occupy Manchuria, the one wealthy area under the Chinese flag. Nationalist Chinese intelligence confirms this view, reporting that there are 15 Russian divisions in Manchuria.

Omar Bradley throughout this struggle has followed a different concept of combatting Communist aggression in Asia. It is not his strategy alone, but the collection of the best thinking in the Pentagon. These are the views of the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

Korea: A defensive strategy of luring Communist armies southward, then breaking them at the defense line is the plan. The terrible casualty rate among the Chinese armies has already created dissension between Mao and the Russians and has stirred isolated revolts of Chinese recruits. This strategy will also conserve lives.

Formosa: Long before MacArthur was fired, the Joint Chiefs had decided to strengthen the Formosa defenses by training, equipment and arms. A Formosa strong enough to defend itself, and even launch decisive raids on the mainland, would permit the US Navy to make better use of the units tied down for the island defenses.

Where the US would fight in Asia: The United States would fight with men, ships, planes to hold Japan, Formosa, Okinawa, the Philippines and possibly Singapore. Of the rich areas of Southeast Asia, many of them politically unstable, the policy is to strengthen the economy and help these countries with arms and training.

The Chinese mainland: Omar Bradley does not want to see China become a mighty fortress for Communist aggression any more than does MacArthur. There is considerable evidence that Mao's hold in China is shakier now than it was before the Korean War. In some of the distant provinces, such as Kwangsi, Yunnan, Sikang and Kansu, the Communists control only the cities and rail centers, and large guerrilla bands run the countryside. Guerrilla strength, man for man, equals that of the Communist troops. They need guns. In addition, a number of war lords who went over to the Communists without a fight because they thought this was the winning team are looking wistfully the other way. The discussion in the Pentagon now is how to use this potentially great force in place of American troops in China.

Old soldiers never die. But young soldiers die by hundreds of thousands in world war. When the shouting has died Americans will realize in silent gratitude that when MacArthur was ready and willing to extend the Korean conflict to world war it was Bradley who struggled to keep the peace.

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WILL BEVAN DEFEAT LABOR?

by Blair Winston

THE IMMEDIATE impact of Aneurin Bevan's resignation was devastating. The Conservatives were cock-a-hoop with glee. Labor was flabbergasted. Now the picture has changed very rapidly. People are now beginning to wonder whether, provided an election can be delayed till the autumn, the Labour Party may not actually gain by the crisis.

When a two-party system is based on ideological differences, it is always difficult to decide whether elections are better won by mobilizing the convinced or by attracting the uncertain. After a certain point it is difficult to rouse more enthusiasm among the active party workers without repelling the floating vote. This was one of the issues that always divided Bevan from Herbert Morrison. It is a key issue today.

By temperament Bevan has always been a whole-hogger. His Welsh oratory can present any problem as a moral issue of Socialist principle, so that compromise is ruled out in advance. His self-confidence attracts men whose dogmas and ideals have been badly shaken. In a period starved of glamor his personality has radiated a heroic heat. He is a great romantic in the age of existentialism.

If Bevan had remained in the government the party might well have turned to him after an electoral defeat. As it is, if the party loses the next election, it will attribute its defeat above all to his behavior. Should an election come before a further party conference is able to repudiate his views, every Labour candidate will be in an impossible position since the issues Bevan raises cut to the heart of all foreign and domestic policy. A disaster on the scale of 1931 could well be expected and everyone would hold Aneurin Bevan responsible as they held Ramsay MacDonald responsible 20 years ago.

Some of his worst advisers may have told him that a decimated party would choose him as its natural leader against the legions of a Tory Government. Nothing could be further from the truth. The leader of the Labour Party is chosen by its members of Parliament. If the Labour Party suffers a major defeat all Bevan's closest personal friends will be the first to lose their seats—Harold Wilson, John Freeman, Michael Foot and Ian Mikardo all have small majorities. The Parliamentary Labour Party will be composed almost exclusively of right-wing trade unionists, since the majority of really safe seats are in their possession. Bevan would have difficulty in winning their support even in normal times. After a debacle for which he was held responsible it would be impossible.

The immediate result of Bevan's resignation was a series of hammer-blows to his prestige. The Scottish Trades Union Congress, then about to meet in Glasgow, cancelled an invitation to Bevan and invited Hugh Gaitskell to address it instead. The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party declared its full support for the budget and the government's rearmament program. The unkindest blow of all came from the Council of the Durham Mineworkers Federation, which said publicly what everyone was feeling:

> Many of us have a warm personal regard for Nye Bevan and hoped that he would one day make a statesmanlike Prime Minister. His resignation raises grave doubts whether he could gather about him the fundamental faith and loyalty which is the shield of our Movement in times of crisis.

Present indications are that Bevan fully realizes his mistakes and will try to recover the ground he has lost by stumping the country. It is unfortunate for Bevan that his arguments coincide exactly with those of the British Communist Party, which is now engaged in a new attempt to create a united front from below. Bevan has no illusions about the Communists. Even though he does his best to disavow their support, he will probably find them co-belligerents as dangerous as they were to Henry Wallace in a similar situation.

The issues Bevan has raised are not easily answered at the moment and they appeal to obvious prejudices. A great deal depends on whether the United States proves Bevan right or not. Government circles have been worrying over the raw material shortage for nearly a year. It is not yet clear whether Britain's failure to stockpile rests with the Treasury's greed for gold or with the Board of Trade's incompetence. This is likely to be the main argument between Gaitskell and Harold Wilson, who was president of the Board of Trade during the period at issue. But if Bevan's predictions prove correct and Britain suffers heavy unemployment later this year through shortage of materials now in American stockpiles, he may recover all he has lost, winning first the party and then the country on an irresistible wave of America-phobia. In any case Britain now faces a "great debate" which will reach down into the smallest party meeting and every pub. Bevan, like MacArthur, has presented a case which demands an answer. But if America plays her part there is no doubt that the Labour Government and the British people will provide the required answer.

Meanwhile, many feel that the government has been greatly strengthened by the ministerial changes which followed the resignation. Dick Stokes, the new Lord Privy Seal, is probably better qualified than any other man to handle the raw materials problem on which all else depends. Alf Robens, a young and vigorous trade unionist, should make a first-class Minister of Labour.

If the government is able to win the "great debate" its position will be greatly improved. As an electoral factor Bevan was always ambivalent. Against his power to inspire devotion among the party militants must be set his capacity to mobilize Conservative opposition to new levels of activity and to antagonize middle-class voters. If Bevan is defeated thousands of floating voters, in whom Churchill rouses similar fears to Bevan, may support Attlee. —*London*

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THE COMMUNISTS' LAST STAND

by A. J. Heidenheimer

IN A SMALL, sun-lit Washington hearing room, removed from the noise of downtown traffic, a weighted conflict between the United States Government and a hostile and hated political group is in its third unspectacular week. The defendant is the American Communist Party, which is fighting the registration control law imposed by Congress last year in an effort to check its activities on behalf of Soviet Russia. Sitting in judgment over the proceedings are three of five citizens named by President Truman to serve on the Subversive Activities Control Board, created by this unwieldy legislation. In prosecution are a small contingent of lawyers from the Justice Department.

Spectators have been few and press coverage limited. But in their quiet way, these hearings are determining the course of the whole national campaign against native hostile elements. Recent and expected Supreme Court rulings on the Administration's loyalty program and the New York "Communist conspiracy" trial will furnish other tests of the manner in which the effort to weed out the "disloyal" will affect traditional American freedoms. But the Subversive Activities Board, perhaps more than any other body, will decide who is the enemy in our midst, what characterizes his danger and how he can be distinguished from "loyal" dissidents.

The panel for the present case is headed by Charles LaFollette—a liberal, former Republican Congressman from Indiana. Kathryn McHale, a college teacher and long-time executive director of the American Association of University Women, and Peter Campbell Brown, a Brooklyn lawyer who has previously served as a special assistant in the Justice Department, flank LaFollette on the panel hearing the Communists.

In addition to them, the Lafayette Building hearing room usually contains only about a dozen other persons, half of them in front of the small wooden railing which marks this court's arena. At counsel's table sits Vito Marcantonio, the former New York American Labor Party Congressman, who is noted for his close affinity to the Communist "line," his talents at political histrionics and his superior legal capacity. His assistant is John Abt, once a bright, young New Dealer who was recently identified by his ex-friend Lee Pressman as an old-time Party member. The third, older man at counsel's table is Carl Winter, Michigan CP chairman and one of the "eleven"; the New York courts allowed him to come to Washington to act as historical adviser to the lawyers.

Across the aisle sits William Paisley, head of the trial section of the Justice Department's Criminal Division. A veteran of 24 years' governmental service, he has high seniority and long trial experience. A Southern country boy who enjoys acting out the part, Paisley is often droll as he tussles with intricate twists in Marxist dialectics. But he is a sharp prosecutor who won convictions over James Curley, Andrew May and the Garsson brothers. So far he has held his own in drawling out common-sense retorts to Marcantonio's parries.

The government's case against the Party rests on proving that it is a "Communist-action organization," as described generically in the McCarran act. The criteria listed for such a group in the legislation define it in eight almost identical ways as a group active in the world Communist movement which is controlled by a foreign government or a foreign organization. Critics have pointed out that if it weren't for the "Communist" tag, such organizations as the Catholic Church might easily come within its purview. The loose nature of the wording of the act is evident even in the crucial definitions. One of the two criteria for an "action organization" is that it "operates primarily to advance the objectives of such world Communist movement as referred to in Section Two." Yet Section Two merely expresses the Congress' not too analytic findings that the movement is seeking Communist totalitarian dictatorship "by espionage, sabotage, terrorism and any other means deemed necessary." What, ask the lawyers, are "any other means"? An appeals court has denied the Party's request for an injunction, but the Supreme Court has reserved judgment on the crucial issue of whether the law's vagueness constitutes a denial of "due process."

Taking the law at exact face value, the government is seeking to prove by simple historical exposition that the CP has been since its creation, and still is, dominated from Moscow. Eventually it must prove that this is true today, or at least during some period since the act was passed, but so far Paisley has tutored the board in the revolutionary history of the twenties. His witness and authority for the first weeks has been Benjamin Gitlow, who in 1929, as the Party general secretary, was America's most powerful Communist. Today, after 20 years and numerous court appearances, he is a stolid-faced witness, impassive and almost mechanical.

Gitlow is the government's expert for the 1919-1929 period. The government's first exhibit—culled from the huge number introduced in the course of the New

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York trial of the Communist leaders for individual "conspiracy" under the Smith Act—was his delegate card to the fifth annual convention of the Workers Communist Party, held at the Irving Plaza in New York in August, 1927. Gitlow solidified these credentials by telling of his three trips to Moscow—in 1927, in 1928 as head of the US delegation to the Profintern, the Red Trade Union International, and in 1929 as leader of the US group which appealed Stalin's decision to purge the Gitlow-Lovestone faction in favor of the minority bloc led by William Z. Foster, the present Party head. Gitlow testified that the US Communist Party was completely dominated by the Communist International. All Party conventions had to be approved by the Comintern, and the major political resolutions were prepared in Moscow. In addition, the Comintern sent its own representatives to see that the CP toed the line. More than 20 such emissaries came to America in the course of his stay in the Party, Gitlow testified. Furthermore, "the minute [an emissary] landed in the United States he became a voting member of all committees of the Communist Party of the US, that includes the Central Executive Committee, the Political Committee and the Secretariat of the Communist Party."

And, Gitlow said:

"The Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had power over the Executive Committee of the Communist International."

Immediately Abt was on his feet to object to "pure conclusion and opinion on the part of the witness."

"He says he knows," LaFollette declared calmly. "On cross-examination you may develop the extent of that knowledge. Objection is over-ruled."

Gitlow went on to back up his claims. He told of how two International representatives, the Britisher Harry Pollitt and the German Dengel came to the US in 1929 to communicate Stalin's purge decision to the Party. Similar messengers from Moscow had in 1925 forced Foster to share Party leadership with the Ruthenberg faction, although Foster's group held a majority of the delegates. He bore out the government's claim of foreign financial domination of the CP. Among contributions received was $35,000 from the Comintern for the founding of the *Daily Worker* in Chicago in 1924. The International, said Gitlow, was "completely financed" by the Soviets. The foreign sections contributed "not one penny."

Thus far the Communists' lawyers have remained, on the whole, quiet and co-operative. They are respectful toward the board and at times attempt to josh with Paisley, who usually does not reciprocate. Instead of forcing lengthy and repetitive objections to each statement and piece of evidence, they have agreed to "standing objections" which they merely insert into the record. But they often revert to legalistic oratory. At one point Marcantonio declared "there is no proof that the *Daily Worker* . . . is the organ of the Communist Party. There is no proof of that, and, as a matter of fact, it is not owned by the Communist Party."

LaFollette, speaking for the board, has been fair in listening to procedural and substantive statements from both sides. He has gone out of his way to give both Paisley and the party lawyers full opportunity for expression. But the board's attempt to create rules and safeguards is hampered by a number of factors. One is the tricky language of the law itself. Another is the veto held over its head by the law's author, Sen. Pat McCarran, who has refused so far to let his Judiciary Committee pass on their nominations.

A dominant note of the proceedings so far is that the government appears to be seeking a favorable verdict as cheaply as possible. The more he can rely on the strength of historical testimony, the Attorney General seems to reason, the fewer FBI agents and other valuable informers will have to be uncovered to prove that the Party has been engaging in the same inimical activities since the law was passed.

The Communists' lawyers were quick to exploit the government's apparent laziness. Abt attacked the references to the violent nature of "Marxism-Leninism" which Paisley loosely introduced into the testimony. Paisley said he would tie them in later on, as he has a legal right to do. But he failed to show a clear line of reasoning. And Abt was quick to cry that despite the government's claim of "not trying ideas but acts" the hearing had "slipped completely from the realm of acts, if we were ever there, into the realm of ideas, and at this point this proceeding then becomes an inquisition."

The eventual curbing of the Communist Party, under the present procedure or one amended to fit a possible high court ruling, appears certain. But the means employed to that end are crucially important, for dependent on the procedure and decision applied to the Party are the fate of thousands of groups and individuals which the Attorney General must then cite to the board as part of the "Communist-front." The board must set up some standards by which to judge abstract concepts like "Marxism-Leninism." Where and how does its advocacy imply "overthrow by force and violence"? And what about Marxism-Trotskyism? Or Marxism-Titoism? The board must seek to establish distinctions between "action" and "idea," however difficult that may be. If the "clear and present danger" doctrine is to be revised, it must be replaced by another viable concept. These questions are not merely "relevant," they are essential.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *MacArthur's Strategy*

THERE ARE THOSE who are critical of President Truman, not because he fired MacArthur, but because he did not fire him soon enough. It was clear to some who were carefully watching the situation that MacArthur some time ago made up his mind that he wanted to be fired. Of course, he wanted to set the stage in his own way and choose the time. Ridgway had been sent to Korea to take over that operation, leaving MacArthur with nothing to do except to pose before cameras at intervals and give out statements intended to misinform the people of the United States that he was still in charge of military operations in Korea where, as a matter of fact, Ridgway was making a great success in contrast with the faltering retreat of MacArthur.

With a peace treaty with Japan in the making, MacArthur realized that he would not be able much longer to lord it over the obsequious Japanese. He wanted to go out in a blare of publicity if he could. To bring this about, he did not balk even at disobedience of military orders and general insubordination. He was even willing to go to the extent of criticizing his Commander-in-Chief publicly to attain his end. Finally, President Truman had no option, except to give him what he was asking for—a blunt dismissal from his posts of responsibility and honor.

In the meantime, however, MacArthur, with the conspiratorial help of "compatriot" Joe Martin and probably of "compatriot" Robert R. McCormick, and others, had cleverly set the stage. With customary effrontery, he hurried back to the United States, not in disgrace for unsoldierly behavior, but, as he likes to be acclaimed, as a conquering "hero."

President Truman is not wholly to blame for the MacArthur incident. President Roosevelt should have ordered General Wainwright to slip away from the Philippines and take over in Australia, instead of the "hero of Bataan." Wainwright was not responsible in any degree for the blunders that finally ended in the surrender of the American armies in the Philippines. He fought valiantly to the very end but, as the result of MacArthur's strategy, it was impossible for Wainwright to gather up the loose ends and piece them together again. MacArthur should have been left at Bataan to complete, in person, the unconditional surrender for which he alone was responsible.

People's memories are short and many Americans do not remember their history as well as they might. The parallel between Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan during the Civil War and our own prima donna, MacArthur, is very close. Made a captain during the Mexican War for "gallantry," McClellan became a major general in the regular Army on May 14, 1861. Shortly thereafter, he reached the rank of "commander of the armies of the United States." As such, as a preview of the later MacArthur career, he studiously disregarded the suggestions of President Lincoln. After Antietam, the country heard him complaining that the administration "refused to co-operate." As in the case of MacArthur today, refusal on the part of the Lincoln Administration to "co-operate" was a disinclination to give McClellan his head and permit him to run the war to suit himself. In 1864, he ran as the Democratic candidate for President. The most striking parallel of all was his denouncing the war during his campaign as a "failure." How could it be otherwise when he was not running it? He too forgot, to the cost of a better place in history, that the President of the United States, under the Constitution, is the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

Does MacArthur now secretly conspire to be a modern "man on a white horse"? There are those who suspect it. He may have announced dramatically that he would not be a candidate for any office but it will not be forgotten that Caesar thrice refused the crown. For my part, I do not believe that there is any limit to MacArthur's prehensile ambition. There has not been in the past, and at the ripe age of 71, a man is not likely to change his habits or his thought processes. But whether a potential candidate or not, MacArthur is a great danger today to America, to what we have accomplished and to what we wish to accomplish in the future. In MacArthur, the Republicans have by the tail a bear with a very sore head. I suggest that Taft, Warren and Dewey form a Presidential Protective Society. Stassen might join, too, but not even the Republicans are looking for a boy to send to market in 1952.

If MacArthur had been the loyal soldier and the patriotic American that he insists he is, he would not have returned in tumult to the United States when he did. He would have gone to the Philippines where he would have found a warm welcome and where he could have remained far removed from the hurly-burly of Presidential politics. There he could have quietly resumed his life with the friends that he had made prior to World War II, postponing his return visit to his own land to some time when he could come back without being the occasion for the controversy that he has deliberately fomented.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE MYTHS DIE HARD IN THE ISLANDS

by C. Hartley Grattan

BOTH THESE BOOKS are based on a thesis which seems to me indisputable; that it is important for Americans to have an understanding of the Pacific Islands and Australia and New Zealand if we are to play a creative role in determining the future of the Pacific Basin. I have said as much myself on many occasions in the last quarter-century, long before the idea became so fashionable as to turn up in two quite different current books.

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS, by Douglas Oliver (Harvard University Press; $5).
RETURN TO PARADISE, by James Michener (Random House; $3.50).

Accepting a thesis is one thing; judgment of the worth of books supporting it is quite another. First, Professor Oliver's volume, by far the better of the two. It is an anthropologist's effort to popularize knowledge accumulated in fifteen years of study and travel. I feel the attempted popularization is unnecessary, but let that pass. The book covers all the islands inhabited by Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian peoples, together with the Australian continent and its aborigines. Generally speaking, it is a good and useful book. But it is the kind of book that should be read with other material in mind—books like Keesing's *South Seas in the Modern World* or Furnas' *Anatomy of Paradise*, and the files of the magazine *Pacific Islands Monthly*—if its true usefulness is to be realized.

Its pro-native bias—characteristic of an anthropologist—is morally admirable, but it is not an outlook that leads to getting the islands into focus as contemporary problems. Oliver himself seems to realize this, but nevertheless rides his hobbyhorse. In fact he fails to assimilate his own well-told story of the intruders in the islands, white men and yellow, which takes up many pages, into his general point of view. Yet he is clear that, south of the equator at least, the islands are pretty sure to be absorbed into the economic and cultural orbits of Australia and New Zealand, no matter what the political future of the separate groups may be. It can be argued that this is not only inevitable but necessary to complete the resource patterns of the two countries. The factor in the equation which Oliver emphasizes is vastly important. What *will* become of the natives? But to throw up one's hands in a kind of mock despair about the future of the natives as human beings and carriers of unique cultures is really to give their case away at a moment when it needs firmly to be made. Oliver is so disturbed about prospects that he leaves readers with the feeling that he really does not believe his own case. His book would have been more effective if he had found a coherent context, composed of historical and contemporary elements, in which to conduct his discussion and project his conclusions. His detailed knowledge of the immense cultural diversity and confusion of the area has ended by somewhat confusing him. But, I repeat, Oliver's book really is good, especially for its marshaling of the picture in its anthropological aspects. It opens up the story of the island peoples very well indeed. (The bibliography is even more haphazard than his apology would indicate.)

James Michener's book is a horse of quite a different color, if it is a horse at all. It is a literary nonesuch, part reportorial essays, part short stories. The stories are supposed to cast light on the reported facts. Maybe they do, in a way, but they are poor fiction, no credit to the author of the sprightly and amusing *Tales of the South Pacific*. They suffer from long-windedness and the limited emotional range of the writer. Michener overstrains himself when he strives self-consciously to be An Artist.

As a reporter Michener recognizes the situation that Oliver treats with such care—the impact of the intruders on the natives—but only incidentally. His real interest is in the places where the whites have established themselves and built towns—Papeete, Suva, Honiara, Luganville, and so on—and in New Zealand and Australia. His attitude is therefore mixed: he sees the natives but is more interested in the quality of the life led by the whites. It tends toward the tawdry, as Michener recognizes, but it is a glamorous tawdriness, as he also recognizes. He gets a surprising kick out of the tawdriness and exploits the glamor. The life of hardworking whites in the islands is only "background." He therefore vulgarizes the South Seas in the traditional way traced historically by Furnas in his Chapter VI, "Old Legends Never Die," where all that Michener has written and inspired will one day find its resting place. His best effects are obtained when he tells straightforwardly what it is like—say in Guadalcanal or Espiritu Santo—now that the GIs are gone home.

One cannot give Michener high marks as a reporter for another reason: he does not check his copy. The book is full of factual inaccuracies, major and minor, and innumerable misplaced emphases. He relies entirely too much on what he is told by casual acquaintances; often one can readily place them as to social position and politics by the bias they betray. What might make good observed data for fiction (but here, at least, doesn't) makes poor reporting, for instances do not add up to accurate conclusions until checked against controlling data, statistical and historical records. I am not talking about matters of opinion. I pass them by, however much I disagree. I speak only of

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verifiable facts. Here are a few examples of major and minor significance:

". . . this Treaty of Waitongi still animates relations between Maori and Pakeha, as the white man is known." Michener implies that the treaty followed the wars with the Maori. The Treaty of Waitangi (not Waitongi) was signed in 1840; the great wars with the Maori ran all through the decade of the 1860s. Michener reverses history in his reference.

". . . curiously she [New Zealand] prefers to use the Privy Council in London as the supreme court of appeal." There is nothing curious about this, except to one who knows nothing about the constitutional history of the British Commonwealth. Australia also so uses the Privy Council and so also did Canada until just the other day.

"The first Merino sheep were landed by Captain Cook in 1773 and within a hundred years the wool industry . . ." This is a hopelessly misleading version of the rise of the wool industry in New Zealand. When the New Zealanders turned to wool, Australia, then well advanced in this line, supplied the original stock.

" . . . Australia is now dabbling in manufactures . . ." Dabbling? In 1950, 26 percent of the working force was engaged in manufacturing, as contrasted with 22.4 percent in the United States. And Australia has systematically "dabbled" for several decades. Her modern steel industry dates from 1915.

"Says a leading architect, 'Up to 1935, a full-grown man who was interested in painting or music was obviously pathetic and spoken of in whispers'." Rubbish. The history of the arts in Australia flatly contradicts this. I was in Australia years before 1935 and can personally testify that statement is untrue. Michener is here victimized by characteristic Australian information about Australia, the product of an inverted snobbery that plainly he never either recognized or learned to dismiss.

The hard fact is that Michener tried to take in too much territory in his reportorial essays. He tried desperately, but he made a mess of it. His inaccuracies betray him.

Time, in its review of *Return to Paradise*, correctly dismissed the fiction, but called the essays "basically good reporting"! The Book-of-the-Month Club offers the book as its May selection. "O God! O Montreal!"

C. Hartley Grattan first visited the South Pacific in 1927. He is the author, among other books, of "Introducing Australia."

FAIR WARNING

THE NINETEEN FIFTIES COME FIRST, by Edwin G. Nourse (Holt; $2).

IT IS a sign of change in the climate of opinion that Edwin G. Nourse, past president of the American Economic Association and former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, should generally be regarded as a conservative. For Mr. Nourse does not believe that the United States has or ever did have an economic order in which the free play of market forces produces a desirable equilibrium. He believes that we ought to plan for full employment, and that it can be maintained only by correct policy decisions. He believes that these decisions must be based on scientific study of the facts, rather than on dogma or prejudice.

Mr. Nourse takes in his stride collective bargaining and governmental protection of farm prices against extreme deflation. Among the policies he endorses is that the government should spend more than it receives during depressions—and should take in more than it spends during inflation. All this, one may infer, is now economic orthodoxy, although not so long ago it was denounced as dangerous if not revolutionary.

His book consists of warnings he has been moved to make since he regained freedom to speak by resigning his official post. These warnings are addressed to all groups in the economy—business no less than labor, consumers no less than farmers; even, or perhaps especially, to government and economists.

It is in some of his specific positions that Mr. Nourse appears to be moved by something more than scientific candor. The Brannan Farm Plan, which he denounces as a grab, does put the parity level too high, but it has the merit of proposing to distribute crop "surpluses" at whatever price the consumer can pay. All interest groups ought to exercise self-restraint, but it is hard to see why a political coalition of farmers and unions would be inherently any more dangerous than the coalitions which have always formed the nuclei for political parties. And it is difficult to understand how so convinced an opponent of narrow foreign policy and inflation can take pleasure in the reelection of Senator Taft.

Why are wage-contract escalator clauses, which link increases to the rise in the cost of living and in average national productivity, inherently inflationary? Wages can be, and are, taxed if wage earners must sacrifice for defense. If wages did not keep up with the national product, the wage earners' share would be diminished before taxes were collected from them. Finally, why is appeal to political processes for relief or advantage any more anti-social than collective power privately exercised? The difference between good citizenship and bad lies in aims and measures, not in the choice between using public and private agencies.

Conservative or not, however, the general principles that Mr. Nourse urges must seem unassailable to intelligent citizens. We cannot all get out of the economy more than we put into it. A widespread attempt to do so must be delusive, but it can debase the dollar, make unavoidable a thoroughly regulated economy, and, in a long period of heavy military expenditures and fear, it could endanger liberty. A sense of responsibility to the whole community is indeed essential to the survival of democracy. GEORGE SOULE

WHAT MAKES DICTATORS?

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DICTATORSHIP, by G. M. Gilbert (Ronald Press; $4).

THERE already exist many psychological studies about dictators, both current and past. The impact of modern psychology on historical writers encourages them to give some psychological explanation of why, for instance, Napoleon had to follow his particular destiny or why Mussolini abandoned his principles at a certain point. In the case of most historical figures, however, little more can be done than to reconstruct personalities from what is available in official records or was reported by not always psychologically interested eye-witnesses. It is fortunate, therefore, that such an experienced investigator as G. M. Gilbert was given the opportunity to apply his time and interest to the defendants

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called before the International Tribunal at Nuremberg.

The work was done so well that Dr. Gilbert's book may become a classic in socio-psychiatric and historical literature. And there is still another reason for its importance. The Nuremberg trials set a precedent: for the first time in history, individuals accused of disturbing the peace of the entire world were called to answer before a court. There was thus established the new principle of individual responsibility to an international forum. So this study becomes also a document of criminology devoted to the fundamental question: Under what environmental circumstances and with what kind of inner mental structure does man become an enemy of mankind?

Here we find—clearly described and admirably free of scientific jargon—the dynamics of both individual pathology and social pathology. In a world full of complex relations between personality and leadership, leadership and history, individual and social unrest, we must analyze all the determining factors if we are to prevent future accumulation of national and international crime.

Dr. Gilbert uses the personal histories of different types of criminals to give a broad picture of such interrelations:

¶ The first case that is taken under the psychological magnifying glass is that of Adolf Hitler. Though a clinical investigation was impossible, the eye-witness reports given by his most intimate collaborators corrected the picture we have had of him until now. Better than any other biographer, the author presents the growth of this extremely neurotic personality seeking an outlet for his aggressions through political power. We learn much about his morbid "genius," with his unresolved parental conflicts, his paranoid hostility toward Jews, his obsessional thinking, his furious fanaticism, and his ultimate mania to destroy.

¶ Nazi dictator No. 2, Hermann Goering, has a completely different psychological structure. His aggressive drives are founded in the archaic military tradition of the German Junker class, to which his family belonged. From early childhood he had been compulsively and overtly aggressive. He was an autocratic and corrupt cynic, grasping the Nazi-inspired opportunity to achieve personal gain.

¶ Quite different again is Rudolf Hess, the man of passive yet fanatical doglike devotion—living, as it were, through the mind of his Fuehrer. After his adventure to England he showed obvious psychotic traits, ideas of persecution, hysterical attacks and periods of amnesia. The Nazi ideology had given to this frustrated boy a blood-identification with the glorious race of the Germans. This case shows the minute interaction between mental disease and the cultural conditioning to certain mental aberrations.

¶ Then there is Hans Frank, the devil's advocate, the prototype of the over-ambitious latent homosexual, easily seduced into political adventures even when he is in conflict with his conscience. Also, we see von Papen the diplomat, trying to save outworn social values, unhampered by any scruples; von Ribbentrop, the pseudo-diplomat, a parasitic climber, who became the shadow of his Fuehrer, outdoing him in cruelty and tyrannical strategy. The military leaders, too, emerge as full-blown pathological figures.

Dr. Gilbert's analyses of these different types contain deeper psychological and sociological implications. They show more clearly than ever that a cultural pseudo-pathology—a mad world—can be built by certain neurotic types. But the venal political figure does not necessarily realize what he is doing. Inner lies seduce him; self-deception, arrested insight, evasion of emotional identification, degradation of empathy: the mind has many defense mechanisms to blind conscience. However, only in a dictatorship can latent aggression and destructivity in man be cultivated so far that it explodes into mass-criminal actions. In groups like the SS the intense hatred and systematized cruelty were largely a social epiphenomenon artificially indoctrinated as a mechanical—but alarmingly effective—behavior pattern. It is this injection with synthetic hatred that still endangers our world.

This is a brief review of a book that should be read, and studied, to grasp the full meaning of the Nazi tragedy. We may be grateful that Dr. Gilbert has shared with us his talent and experience in this concise, clear and readable way.

JOOST A. M. MEERLOO

During the war, Dr. Meerlo was Chief of the Psychological Division of the Netherlands Army. After the war, he settled in New York, where he is a practising psychoanalyst and an instructor in psychiatry at Columbia University. He is the author, among other books, of "Total War and the Human Mind" and "Patterns of Panic."

THEATRE: From Booth to Shakespeare

THE NEW MUSICAL, "Make a Wish," has a clever ballet—representing a department-store sale—by Gower Champion. "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn," the musical made from the novel, has Shirley Booth. Perhaps it is not altogether fair to leave the matter at that, since "A Tree" has at least one amusing scene, a touch of old-fashioned sentiment and two Arthur Schwartz tunes that one remembers. The point is that while the Champion ballet fails to save "Make a Wish," Miss Booth does save her show.

Like many first-rate comedians, Shirley Booth is essentially touching. She is not a funny lady like Bea Lillie; she is a pathetic one like Laurette Taylor. A sharp wit is always active in her work, but what makes it precious is that it has its roots in a foundation of good nature and sad knowledge. Her Cissy is shrewd, honest, happy and hopeless. She is dumb and she knows all; she is smart like a fox and deeply bewildered. One cannot tell whether she is redeemed or lost because she seems implanted in the center of experience. Miss Booth makes us laugh at her and cry over ourselves. She is a superb performer and a real actress.

It is easy to find fault with Edmund Wilson's "The Little Blue Light," about which I wrote a note here last fall. The play is prolix, uneven in stylistic approach and, from my viewpoint, intellectually unsatisfactory. Yet I found myself not only attentive before it, but interested. Not only interested, but concerned. It is one of those partially unrealized artistic efforts which hold us whether or not we "like" it.

"The Little Blue Light" expresses the state of mind of a sensitive and thoughtful person in our world today. The fact

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that the state of mind is not only perturbed but also what some people are pleased to call "confused" speaks in the play's favor. Empty plays are rarely "confused." The mood of "The Little Blue Light" is that of a contained but nonetheless hysterical apprehension. The play is a nightmare—sometimes witty, often discursive and always a little "mental" or abstract—and its significance and tone may be summed up as that of an unconcealed scare. Wilson sees us caught in a political, social, cultural and emotional dead-end; he holds out little hope except in the mournful assurance that the remnants of moral power that still linger on the periphery of our visible dissolution will somehow, some day, regain their potency and heal us.

The paradox of my reaction is that I find the play's negative and destructive aspect far more convincing and useful than its affirmation. Wilson's pessimism, of which I disapprove philosophically, is his play's most valuable aspect. For in this time of inane mutism and unjoyous lethargy when most of us haven't the guts even to be bold cynics or unabashed decadents, it is tonic to have a man voice his terror and throw the little blue light of his despair upon us. It is a sorry evasion to turn a deaf ear to what Wilson is saying in this play simply by pointing out its esthetic and dramaturgic shortcomings. Let those who can write better plays attempt to show us in more concrete terms the process by which, *through and within* the horror of our present situation, renewal and health may emerge.

Burgess Meredith, who gives the most expert and amusing performance in "The Little Blue Light," also succeeds in distorting it by making a flagrant homosexual of the esthete he plays. The result is that while everyone applauds him no one seems to realize that his skill in this case serves only to obscure the meaning of his role.

I enjoyed Margaret Webster's "The Taming of the Shrew" at the City Center. Her work had more texture in this instance than on many a more solemn occasion when Shakespeare seemed staged and illustrated rather than crea-

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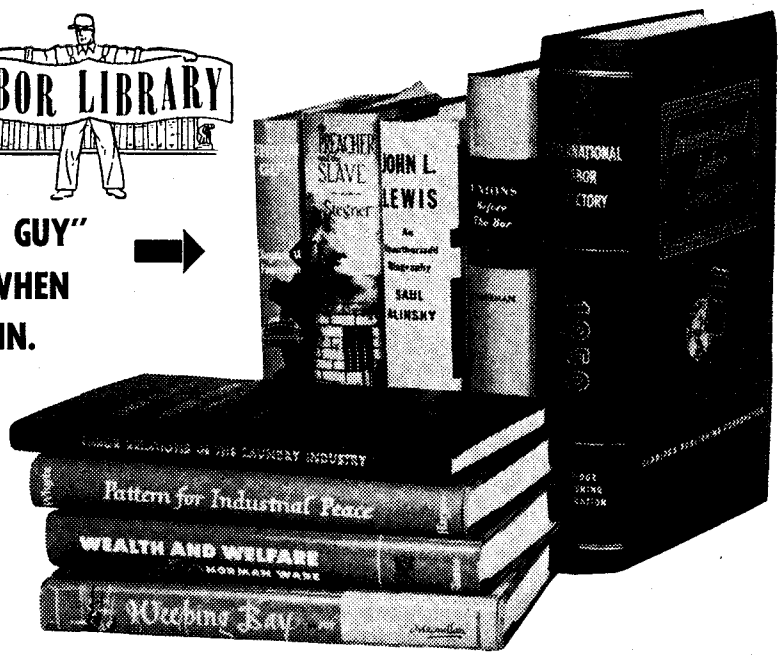

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tively embodied. The Webster "Shrew" reveals considerable comic invention and refreshing stage verve. Perhaps it is much harder to find a real theatrical form for a tragedy than for a farce; perhaps with a tragedy the director feels safe in depending largely on the play's literary substance, while a farce like "The Shrew" cries out to be sustained by purely theatrical means.

Whatever the answer to these problems, I found the latest "Shrew" good fun, despite the fact that Claire Luce is not a comedian and Ralph Clanton, an able character actor, not an ideal Petruchio (though he looks and speaks well), and only Larry Gates as Christopher Sly seemed altogether right.

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ON THE AIR

For Good Behavior

RADIO AND TELEVISION audiences are not the only suckers for give-aways. Broadcasters are no smarter. Almost any obscure little throw-away calling itself a magazine can get a coast-to-coast plug worth thousands of dollars by awarding a plaque to some dubious program or limping clown. For these reasons, this column seldom bothers to report, let alone criticize, the grants that, especially in the springtime, blossom with abandon. An exception, however, is the annual occasion of the George Foster Peabody awards, a rather aristocratic set of kudos distributed by the University of Georgia's Henry W. Grady School of Journalism. Consider some of the latest winners:

Robert L. Kintner, president of the American Broadcasting Company, got a special award. And it wasn't for "Stop the Music." It was for kicking *Counterattack*, *Red Channels* and the Illinois commandatura of the American Legion in the teeth. These had ganged up, last fall, on a number of people whose admittedly undocumented allegiance to the Kremlin had been proclaimed in *Red Channels*. You may recall that Jean Muir was bumped off the television version of "Henry Aldrich" because *Red Channels* had so decreed. Kintner's network announced soon thereafter that Gypsy Rose Lee was about to open a new radio series. The smearers objected because she was listed in *Channels*. Kintner told them (1) to put up or shut up; (2) to go to hell. Miss Lee went on the air as scheduled. And now Kintner has a Peabody medal to hang on his Radio City wall.

Another special award went to the Providence *Journal*; its editor and publisher, Sevellon Brown; and Ben Bagdikian, an enterprising and much too shy young reporter on that paper. Bagdikian had done a series of articles analyzing with anything but flattering perspicuity the work of three topflight (from the popularity viewpoint) network commentators. Ironically enough, two of these are on Kintner's network—Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson. The third is Mutual's unmentionable F——n L——s Jr.

In the field of television entertainment, Jimmy Durante got the honors. The Schnozz proved he deserved the prize when he said, at the award luncheon, "I wish I had got me a writer to do a script for me so at least I'd have the commas and decimal points in de right place."

Then there was the Fred Friendly category. Officially, there was an award to NBC for last summer's atomic-energy show, "The Quick and the Dead," and a citation to CBS for the current "Hear It Now." Both are Friendly productions, the first with NBC's William Brooks, the second with Edward R. Murrow.

For radio entertainment, the award went to "Halls of Ivy." Ronald Colman, who stars on this NBC program, did something unusual. He told how Don Quinn—creator of "Fibber McGee and Molly"—had conceived the revolutionary idea of writing a serial around a literate, uncompromisingly liberal, university president. Quinn in turn shared the honors with his producer-director (Nat Wolff) and other members of a large production team.

An award went to the "Johns Hopkins Science Review." As a rule, this DuMont show is not particularly lively, but there have been times when Lynn Poole, who runs the program down in Baltimore, has used imaginative gimmicks to put over extremely difficult ideas. On a program called "Freezing the Atom," the scientific lecturer established what video calls "viewer identification" by demonstrating what happens when chocolate ice cream (which the physicist tasted with obvious relish) is dropped into liquid nitrogen. On another occasion, a hundred mouse traps, each baited with a cube of lump sugar, illustrated the meaning of "chain reaction" when the tripping of the first trap started the next spring, which set off the third and tripped another, and so on until the air was filled with flying cubes.

Speaking of education on the air, I must mention an effort being attempted

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currently on CBS-TV. The five-day-a-week series (Monday through Friday at 4:30) goes by the excellent title of "It's Fun to Know." The idea is to present an educational program in a manner palatable to children. I watched three of the first week's five efforts. One taught "how to make things"; another was supposed to be concerned with science; the third interested itself in the dance. The things made were waste-baskets and such from cardboard cartons; the scientific demonstration failed to explain much about wind, rain and weather; and the dancing lesson taught the Patty-Cake Polka, the Charleston and something of the waltz.

In my opinion, the eight-to-twelve-year-olds at whom this fare is directed would be better off if they forsook their TV sets and played with their yoyos in the open air. Nevertheless, the man behind this program—Frederick Kugel, editor of *Television,* a trade magazine—is a producer with the best of intentions. He is given six weeks to make good, and may get CBS-TV to extend his option for several weeks longer. I suggest that you—I assume that most readers of this column are over twelve—watch this program in the next few weeks. It may improve. If it does, call in the kids. SAUL CARSON

MOVIES

The Garden of Atom

ARCH OBOLER is a radio writer and producer known in broadcasting circles for his talent and social responsibility. Like everyone else, he is worried by the threat of atomic warfare, but being possessed of more energy and more resources than the run of men, he has written, produced and directed a movie to make his thoughts on the subject generally available. It is unfortunate, therefore, that on the consequences of atomic warfare Oboler has nothing significant to say. Whatever the power of his convictions, it was not strong enough to free him even momentarily from the formulas of mass beguilement. "Five" is a salesman's "package."

The idea of the picture, borrowed from the basic library of fantastic fiction, is that a holocaust of fission has killed all but five people in the world. This quintet consists of one young woman (pregnant); a Dartmouth graduate, skilled in carpentry; a bank teller crazed by the disappearance of his liquid assets; a Negro, simple and good; a European mountain climber, complicated and bad. The Negro and the sportsman-fascist supply some modish social significance, but an observer with any background in this type of romance can tell at a glance the only real business of the plot is so to arrange matters that in the end the girl will fall into the arms of the Dartmouth man. And so it comes about: everyone else, including the baby, is killed off in one way or another and in the final sequence the two stand, a new Adam and a new Eve, facing the future with hoes in their hands and the light of love and resolution in their faces.

What we fear from the next war is famine and disease and bestiality; tyranny and the loss of whatever human dignity we have inherited from past generations. To suppose that the atom will bring quick death for the millions and a bright, clean world for a bright, clean boy and girl to repopulate is to tell a fairy story for the soft-minded.

"The First Legion" is a piece of snobbish propaganda (Father Thomas J. Sullivan of Loyola University is listed as Technical Adviser) for the Society of Jesus, wherein Charles Boyer, Walter Hampden, H. B. Warner, Taylor Holmes and Leo G. Carroll appear very "old school" in their handsome clerical robes. I don't care to judge whether or not the exclusive gentleman's-club atmosphere of the Jesuit seminary here portrayed is good public relations for this "special order," but I do declare that the final episode, in which a girl with a broken back is "miraculously" cured, is both mean and cruel. The Church no longer tortures heretics for the greater glory of God; it is time it stopped tormenting cripples with false hope. ROBERT HATCH

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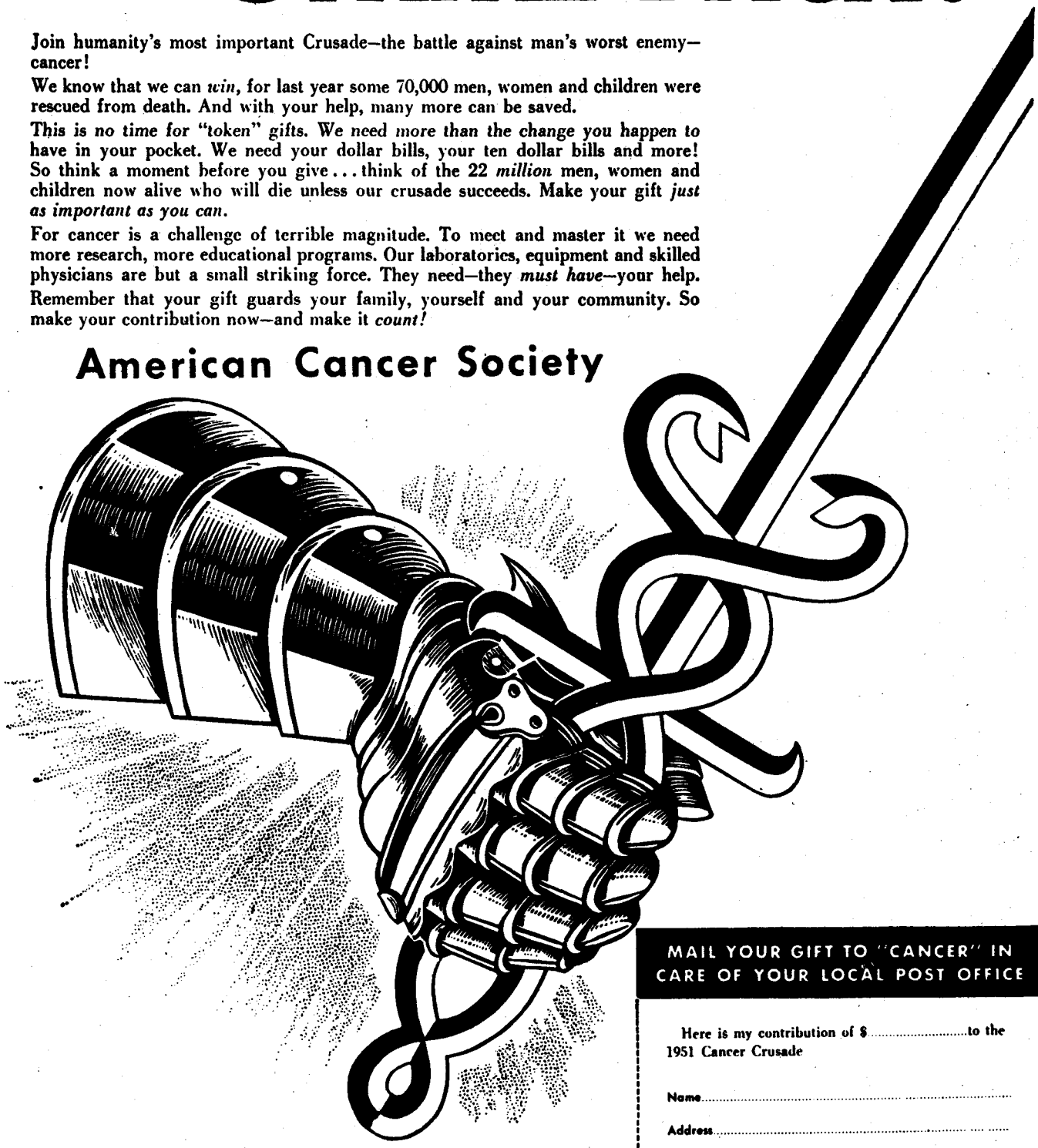

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